

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 /028 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:D.KINNEY

APPROVED BY EUR: JAARMITAGE

S/S:PSBRIDGES

C:RHOPPER

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O 092335Z AUG 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 197452 TOSEC 200245

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, NATO, SP, BE

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - REACTIONS OF

-- SELECTED NATO ALLIES TO SPAIN-NATO

-- COOPERATION

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EUR - ARMITAGE, ACTING

1. IN PREPARATION FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH SPAIN, WE HAVE BEGUN TO UNDERTAKE A SERIES OF STEPS DESIGNED TO BRING SPAIN GRADUALLY CLOSER TO NATO. THIS MEMO REPORTS ALLIED REACTIONS TO OUR PROPOSALS FOR ACTION IN THE COMING MONTHS.

2. AMBASSADOR STABLER DISCUSSED WITH FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND SPAIN OUTSIDE OF THE FORMAL NATO CONTEXT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S REACTION WAS GENERALLY FAVORABLE. WE ENVISION CONCRETE COOPERATIVE MEASURES SUCH AS:

-- PROMPT ACTIVATION, OF US-SPANISH TREATY MACHINERY AS LOCUS FOR COORDINATION OF NATO-RELATED ACTIVITIES.

-- SPANISH LIAISON OFFICER AT HEADQUARTERS, US EUROPEAN SECRET

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COMMAND (STUTT GART).

-- EXCHANGES OF VISITORS, INCLUDING VISITS TO APPROPRIATE NATO HEADQUARTERS AND TO ALLIED NATIONAL NATO-COMMITTED UNITS.

-- SPANISH OBSERVERS AT NATIONAL MANEUVERS IN EUROPE.

-- CLOSER LINKAGE OF ASW EFFORTS OPERATING FROM SPAIN.

3. FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SPANISH, WE SOUNDED OUT THOSE ALLIES GENERALLY DISPOSED TOWARD COOPERATION WITH SPAIN. AMBASSADOR STRAUSS-HUPE AT NATO MET WITH THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF FRANCE, THE FRG, ITALY PORTUGAL AND BELGIUM TO DISCUSS OUR GENERAL APPROACH TO SPANISH-NATO COOPERATION. INITIAL REACTIONS OF THE FIVE ALLIES WERE CAUTIOUS ON SPANISH ACCESSION TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY BUT GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO OUR GRADUALIST APPROACH.

4. THE FRENCH PERMREP REMINDED US THAT THE NORDIC ALLIES AND THE NETHERLANDS WILL PROBABLY RESIST IMMEDIATE STEPS TO BRING SPAIN CLOSER TO NATO. HE FELT WE HAD CHOSEN A GOOD APPROACH IN SEEKING TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE MOST SYMPATHETIC ALLIES. NOTING THAT OUR LIST DID NOT INCLUDE JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES, HE STATED THAT FRANCE CONDUCTS REGULAR AIR AND GROUND MANEUVERS WITH SPAIN IN THE BORDER AREA. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, HE SAID THE DESIREABILITY FOR CLOSER SPANISH ASSOCIATION WITH NATO WAS A "CONSTANT" IN FRENCH POLICY.

5. THE ITALIAN PERMREP CONCURRED IN OUR PURPOSE BUT NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE A LONG PROCESS AND WONDERED WHETHER INITIATIVES BY ALLIES WOULD ENCOURAGE MODERATE FORCES IN SPAIN OR SIMPLY REINFORCE THE RIGHT WING. HE SUGGESTED THAT ITALY MIGHT POSSIBLY CONDUCT JOINT MANEUVERS WITH SPAIN IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE.

6. THE FRG PERMREP TOOK OUR VIEWS AND OUR LIST UNDER ADVISEMENT, BUT DID SAY THAT HIS COUNTRY HAD ALWAYS  
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BEEN OPEN-MINDED ON THE SUBJECT OF SPAIN. HE FELT THE GERMAN ELECTIONS WOULD DELAY PROGRESS HOWEVER, SINCE SPAIN REMAINS A SENSITIVE TOPIC AMONG PORTIONS OF THE ELECTORATE. WE UNDERSTAND FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY AND WASHINGTON FRG EMBASSY SOURCES THAT BONN IS NOW PREPARING INSTRUCTIONS TO ITS NATO DELEGATION WHICH WILL CONFIRM THE FRG'S "GO SLOW" POLICY ON EARLY SPANISH NATO ACCESSION, BUT WILL SUPPORT THE IDEA OF EXPANDED BI-

LATERAL ACTIVITIES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FRG WILL OFFER

TRAINING TO SPANISH OFFICERS AND MAINTAIN AN OPEN ATTITUDE ON OTHER TYPES OF BILATERAL COOPERATION. THUS SMALL STEPS LIKE THE RECENT VISIT OF SPANISH MILITARY ACADEMY OFFICERS WILL CONTINUE.

7. PORTUGAL'S REACTION WAS NON-COMMITTAL. NOTING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ONLY BEEN IN OFFICE FOR A FEW DAYS, THE PORTUGUESE PERMREP DID EXPRESS THE PERSONAL VIEW THAT A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS SPAIN ON THE PART OF WESTERN EUROPE WOULD ENCOURAGE MODERATE AND LIBERAL ELEMENTS.

8. THE BELGIAN REACTION WAS THE MOST ENCOURAGING. THE PERMREP NOTED THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD VISIT SPAIN IN AUGUST AND THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WAS MOVING TOWARD THE VIEW THAT STRENGTHENING BELGIAN-SPANISH LINKS WOULD PROBABLY SERVE TO REINFORCE LIBERAL ELEMENTS WITHIN SPAIN. BELGIUM IS INCLINED TOWARD A GRADUAL PACE BUT WILL NOT WAIT FOR SOME PREREQUISITE DEGREE OF LIBERALIZATION BEFORE ENCOURAGING EUROPEAN COOPERATION WITH SPAIN. THE PERMREP SUGGESTED THAT A SPANISH DECLARATION OF INTENT TO ADHERE TO THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IN SOFTENING SCANDINAVIAN AND DUTCH ATTITUDES.

9. IN A SEPARATE REVIEW WITH EMBASSY BRUSSELS OF POLICY TOWARDS SPAIN, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY CHIEF OF NATO AFFAIRS NOTED THE EVOLUTION IN BELGIUM'S SPANISH POLICY AND STATED THAT THE GOB HAS NOTED WITH APPROVAL SPAIN'S EFFORTS TOWARDS LIBERALIZATION. HE THOUGHT THAT 1977 WAS THE EARLIEST TIME IN WHICH A GOVERNMENT

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BASED ON FREE ELECTIONS COULD COME INTO BEING AND THAT A SPAIN-NATO RAPPROCHEMENT WOULD BE BOTH USEFUL AND DESIRABLE. HE STATED THAT BELGIUM WAS NO LONGER AMONG THE GROUP OF THOSE OPPOSED TO COOPERATION (NORWAY, THE NETHERLANDS, AND DENMARK.) HOWEVER, BELGIUM WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO ARGUE THE SPANISH CASE WITH THE NETHERLANDS, AND BELIEVES THAT UNDUE HASTE IN STRENGTHENING NATO'S TIES WITH SPAIN MIGHT ONLY STRENGTHEN SECTIONS OF SPANISH OPINION WHICH ARE STILL IN OPPOSITION. THE US-SPANISH TREATY IS SEEN BY BELGIUM AS PUSHING WESTERN INFLUENCE AS FAR AS IS POSSIBLE FOR THE MOMENT.

10. THE US POSITION FAVORING EVENTUAL SPANISH ACCESSION TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY IS WELL KNOWN. KEY ALLIES

HAVE NOW BEEN APPRISED OF OUR VIEW OF HOW TO PROCEED  
IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WHILE WE MAY CONSULT WITH OTHER

ALLIES, THE EMPHASIS IN OUR EFFORTS WILL NOW BE ON  
SMALL BUT CONCRETE STEPS TO MAKE POLITICAL-MILITARY  
COOPERATION WITH SPAIN A VISIBLE REALITY WHICH WILL  
HELP EUROPEAN ATTITUDES CONTINUE TO CHANGE.

11. DRAFTED: EUR/RPM - D.KINNEY

-- CLEARANCES: EUR:JAARMITAGE

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C - RHOPPER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, ALLIANCE, BRIEFING MATERIALS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, REGIONAL DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 09 AUG 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** MartinML  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE197452  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** D.KINNEY  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760306-0879  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760871/aaaacjzg.tel  
**Line Count:** 183  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN EUR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** MartinML  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 08 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <08 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <28 JUL 2004 by MartinML>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - REACTIONS OF -- SELECTED NATO ALLIES TO SPAIN-NATO -- COOPERATION  
**TAGS:** PFOR, MARR, SP, BE, US, NATO  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006